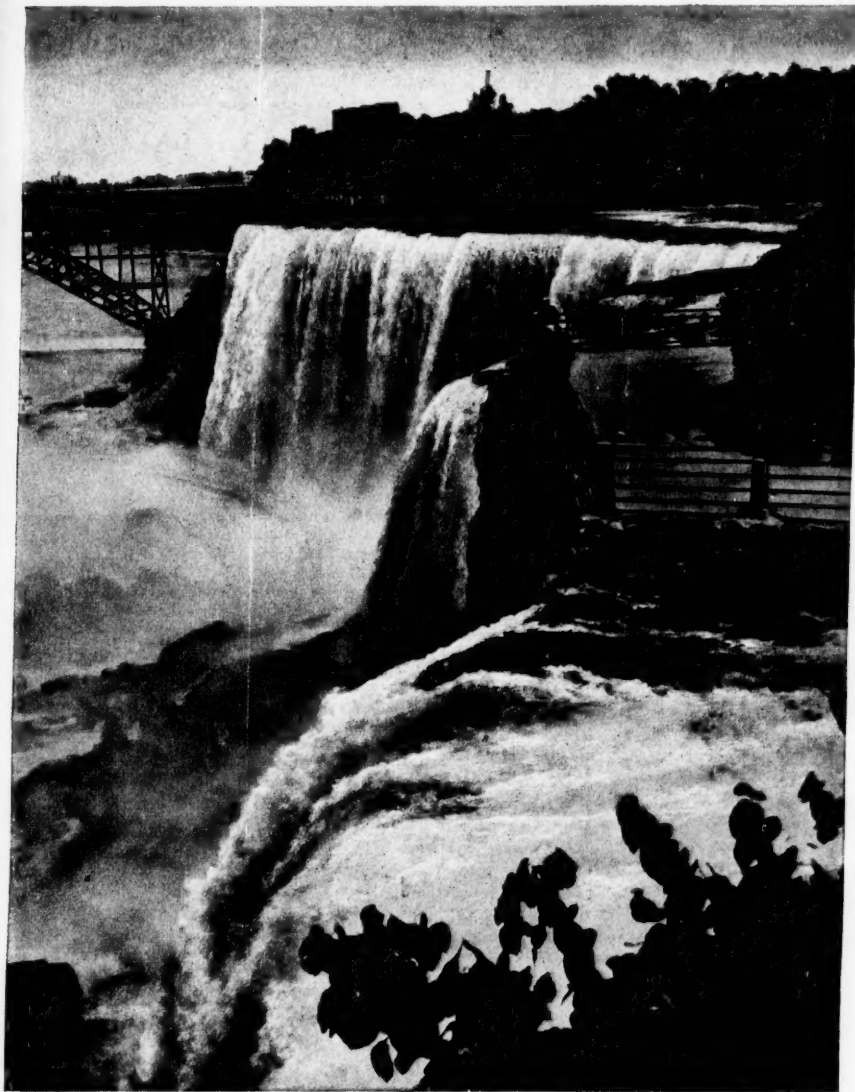


LIBERTY

A MAGAZINE OF RELIGIOUS FREEDOM



P. D. GENDREAU, N. Y.

A RECENT VIEW OF THE AMERICAN SIDE OF NIAGARA FALLS



RELIGIOUS LIBERTY—AN AMERICAN PRODUCT
FUTURE OF LIBERTY
PUBLIC FUNDS AND PAROCHIAL STATE AID



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THE CHURCH IN POLITICS," by C. S. Longacre, is a book that should be in every American home. It deals with a vital question that threatens the overthrow of American ideals of civil government. It is filled with irresistible logic and irrefutable facts. It deals with fundamental principles, historical data, soul-gripping incidents, and a timely warning of the dangers which threaten our free American institutions, which should not go unheeded. The chapter headings are: 1. A Burning Issue, 2. Aims of the Lord's Day Alliance, 3. Origin, History, and Object of Sunday Laws, 4. Compulsory Church Attendance on Sunday, 5. Why Sunday Laws Are Wrong, 6. Religious Persecution Under Sunday Laws, 7. Aims of the Founding Fathers, 8. Government and Religion. Every reader of *Liberty* magazine will want this interesting book, whose author is the editor of *Liberty*.

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THE DIFFUSION OF INTELLIGENCE

EVERY American should be intelligent concerning the principles of religious liberty, for they are among our most precious possessions. Religious freedom, unknown to the Old World, and unrecognized in many countries today, should be cherished and protected by every loyal American citizen. Forces are at work in our beloved land which would rob us of this blood-bought heritage given us by the founders of our Republic.

THE LEGAL STATUS OF CHURCH-STATE RELATIONSHIP IN THE UNITED STATES, WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS,"

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A MAGAZINE OF RELIGIOUS FREEDOM

VOL. 30, NO. 2, SECOND QUARTER, 1935

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The FUTURE of LIBERTY

The Peroration of an Address

By

General Jan C. Smuts

A REMARKABLE address was delivered by General Smuts, of South African fame, before the Scottish University students at St. Andrews, Scotland, on the theme, "The Future of Liberty," and was printed in full in the *Cape Times*, South Africa, October 18, 1934. Lack of space will permit us to print only the peroration of the address, which is as follows:

"There is a decay of principles which is eating at the very vitals of free government, and to me that appears to be a far more serious danger to our future than the risk of war. There is today a decay of the individual's responsibility and share in government which seems to strike at the roots of our human advance.

"For me the individual is basic to any world order that is worth while. Individual freedom, individual independence of mind, individual participation in the difficult work of government, seems to me essential to all true progress. Yet today the individual seems more and more at a discount in the new experiments in government which are being tried out. The sturdy individualism which inspired progress in the past, which made Rome, which made Scotland, which has created all our best human values, seems to be decaying in the atmosphere of lassitude and disillusion of our day. Men and women have suffered until they are abdicating their rights as individuals. In their misery and helplessness they are surrendering to the mass will, which leads straight to autocracy.

"The feebleness of Continental democracy, its ineffectiveness in a crisis calling for swift and decisive action, has contributed to this defeatist

attitude of the individual. And the result is that, with this individualist prop of freedom gone, freedom itself seems to be in danger.

"A new sort of hero worship is arising, very different from that which Carlyle preached, and which saps the very foundations of individuality, and makes the individual prostrate himself before his national leader as before a god. That way extreme danger lies. The disappearance of the sturdy, independent-minded, freedom-loving individual, and his replacement by a servile mass mentality is the greatest human menace of our time.

"Here we reach what I firmly believe is the heart of the problem, the issue round which the greatest battles of this and the coming generations will be fought, if the cause of our civilization itself is to be saved. As an old soldier in this cause, I hope you will excuse me when I state thus bluntly my views on the dangers ahead as I see them.

The New Tyranny

"The issue of freedom, the most fundamental issue of all our civilization, is once more squarely raised by what is happening in the world, and cannot be evaded. The danger signals are up in many colors and in many lands. The new tyranny, disguised in attractive, patriotic colors, is enticing youth everywhere into its service. Freedom must make a great counterstroke to save itself and our fair Western civilization. Once more the heroic call is coming to our youth. The fight for human freedom is indeed the supreme issue of the future, as it has always been in the past.

"Although the ancient homelands of constitutional liberty in the West are not yet seriously affected, we have to confess sadly that over large parts of Europe the cult of force—what in the Great War we used to call Prussianism—has for the moment triumphed. Popular self-government and parliaments are disappearing. The guaranties for private rights and civil liberties are going. Minorities are trampled upon; dissident views are not tolerated and are forcibly suppressed. For those who do not choose to fall into line there is the concentration camp, the distant labor camp in the wilds, or on the islands of the sea.

"Intellectual freedom is disappearing with political freedom. Freedom of conscience, of

"The declaration of Pericles in his great Funeral Oration holds for all time: 'Happiness is Freedom, and Freedom is Courage.' That is the fundamental equation of all politics and all human government, and any system which ignores it is built on sand."



AFTER L. PERRAULT, ARTIST

speech, of the press, of thought and teaching, is in extreme danger. One party in the state usurps power, and suppresses its opponents and becomes the state. The press is made to write to order, and public opinion is manufactured for the support of the autocracy. Even freedom of religion is no longer safe, and religious persecution, after being long considered obsolete, once more shows its horrid head. In many,

if not most, European countries, the standard of human freedom has already fallen far below that of the nineteenth century.

Intolerance

"Perhaps I do not exaggerate when I say that of what we call liberty in its full human meaning—freedom of thought, speech, action, self-expression—there is today less in Europe than there has been during the last two thousand years. In ancient Athens, in ancient Rome, there was, at any rate, freedom of thought and speculation and teaching, and generally of religion. Now in the twentieth century, intolerance threatens once more to become the order of the day. In spite of all our scientific expansion, our essential human rights are contracting.

"The new dictatorship is nothing but the old tyranny writ large. I fear the new tyranny more than I fear the danger of another Great War. Tyranny is infectious. As Burke said, it is a weed which grows in all soils, and it is its nature to spread. Even in this island home of constitutional freedom, I do not know that you are quite immune. Democracy seems to be going out of favor and out of fashion, and unless its methods can be overhauled, its unpopularity may involve the cause of liberty itself.

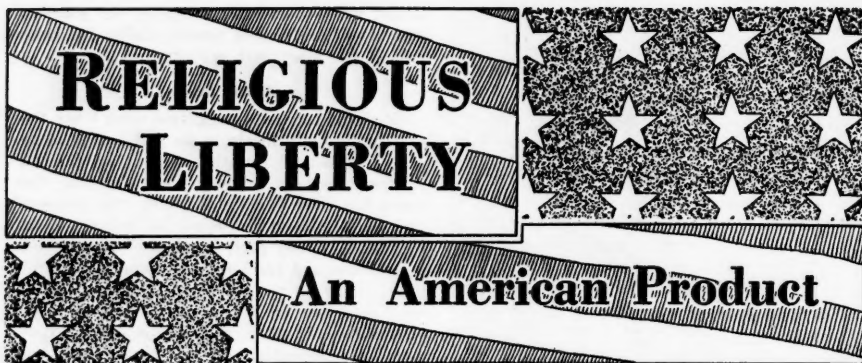
"Let me state quite clearly that I am not against new experiments in human government. The extraordinary difficulties and complications of modern government call for revised methods and new experiments. What I am here concerned with is the serious threat to freedom and self-government which is involved in the new experiments now being tried out on the Continent. They are all based on a denial of liberty, not as a temporary expedient, but on principle.

"The assertion that they aim at the eventual enlargement of liberty is vain in view of the fundamental negation of liberty on which they are based and the absorption of the individual by a state or group, which is their real objective.

"I maintain that such a basis of human government is an anachronism, and a moral impossibility in our Western civilization. The denial of free human rights must in the long

(Continued on page 21)

The American idea of an "inalienable right" to "the pursuit of happiness" is being opposed with the dictum of a present-day European philosopher, who argues that "we are not in this world to be happy, but to do our duty." Youth are further urged "to abandon the alien [American] conception of personal liberty." Surely it is time for the sentinels of liberty to be on guard.



HON. R. WALTON MOORE, Assistant Secretary of State under the present Administration, spoke in the First Baptist church of Washington, D. C., on January 20, 1935, at the Religious Liberty Forum, on the subject of "Religious Liberty." He said in part:

"Religious liberty is one of our most precious possessions. We cannot have civil liberty without religious liberty. Religious liberty supports civil liberty. Religious freedom is an idea that was unknown in the Old World. It is not recognized in many countries today. Religious liberty, in its theory and practice, is a distinctly American product. In opposition to what had been through centuries the Old World idea, it means a complete separation of the fields in which government and religion operate and unrestricted freedom to the individual of religious opinion and expression.

"Wherever religious liberty is not recognized, it means religious persecution. The first colony to be settled in America was Virginia. It had an established church, supported by the State, and all had to accept its ordinances and beliefs. Those who refused had to suffer the penalties of the law. The church authorities conducted and controlled the affairs of the State. People were indicted, fined, and imprisoned for not attending the services of the established church.

"The Baptist dissenters in Virginia played a very important part in the long and painful struggle for religious liberty, with which Jefferson and Madison were conspicuously identified. The first great step was the famous declaration on the subject in the Virginia Bill of Rights of 1776, for which Madison more than any one else was responsible; and the final decisive step, which completely severed the relationship of church and state, was the enactment in 1786, under the leadership of Madison, of the Act for Religious Freedom which had much earlier

been drafted by Jefferson, and of which mention is made on the monument over Jefferson's grave. Between that time and the beginning of the nineteenth century there was legislation that guarded against any return to the former condition. Madison as leader of the House of Representatives in the First Congress was the author of the amendment to the Constitution that placed the Virginia principle in that instrument. The Virginia Baptists seemed to have steadily relied upon Madison's leadership, and did much to ensure his election to the Virginia Convention that ratified the Constitution and his election to the First Congress.

"The Baptists of Virginia were the most active among the dissenters. They had suffered severely for voicing opposition to this system of church and state government. In fact, the Baptists took the lead in dissenting, and as a consequence they suffered more than any other denomination.

"The Baptists came to the conclusion that religious liberty could not be won in America without first winning civil liberty, and naturally, they espoused the Revolution from the very beginning. They zealously followed the flag of the American Revolution, that the outcome might lead to the goal of religious liberty which they sought.

"George Mason wrote a Declaration of Rights for Virginia, the first one written on the American ideal of civil and religious liberty. James Madison joined George Mason, and he wrote a clause into the Virginia Declaration of Rights on religious freedom as follows: 'Section 16. That religion, or the duty which we owe to our Creator, and the manner of discharging it, can be directed only by reason and conviction, not by force or violence; and therefore all men are equally entitled to the free exercise of religion, according to the dictates of conscience; and that it is the mutual duty of all to practice Christian forbearance, love, and charity toward each other.'

"The original draft of this 16th section was

written by Patrick Henry, and the sentence which now reads, 'and therefore all men are equally entitled to the free exercise of religion, according to the dictates of conscience,' read as follows, 'and, therefore, that all men should enjoy the fullest toleration in the exercise of religion, according to the dictates of conscience.' Madison pointed out in the Constitutional Convention, June 12, 1776, that this provision did not go to the root of the matter. 'The free exercise of religion, according to the dictates of conscience,' said Madison, 'is something which every man may demand as a right, not something for which he must ask as a privilege. To grant to the state the power of tolerating is implicitly to grant to it the power of prohibiting.' Madison would deny the state any jurisdiction whatever in the matter of religion, and his substitute was finally adopted.

"The Baptists of Virginia continued to press for the passage of this declaration. They flooded the legislature with petitions and memorials each session, till it was finally adopted. The Presbyterians of Virginia joined the Baptists in memorializing the legislature and the petition work. When religious liberty was finally won in Virginia, it was a trophy of which the Baptists had just cause to be proud, because of their great activity in securing it.

"Madison was the great champion of religious liberty. He wrote the Constitution of the United States, and he was the author of the first ten amendments to the Constitution, granting civil and religious liberty to the individual. The example of Virginia in establishing religious liberty was later followed by every other State."

Mr. Moore referred to the origin of the First Baptist church in which he was speaking. He said that this first Baptist church in the District of Columbia was organized March 7, 1802,

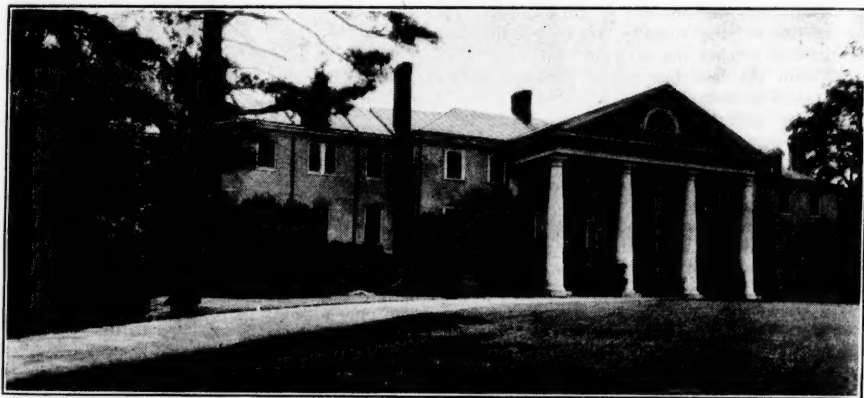
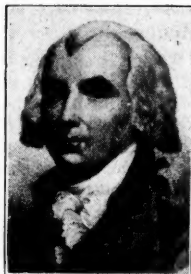
by four Baptist ministers, one of whom was his own great-grandfather, Elder Moore, who delivered the sermon at the organization meeting. Thomas Jefferson was then President of the United States, and the capital city had only about 4,000 population. Elder Moore was invited to preach once every month in the Navy Yard Baptist church, which was organized in 1810, and which President Jefferson frequently attended.

Elder Moore was very active in the struggle for religious liberty in Virginia, and was arrested three times in Alexandria and committed to jail for preaching the gospel without a license. The third time he was put in prison, the judge was furious, and said: "You stay in this time till you rot." A little later Elder Moore had the great satisfaction, after suffering so much for the cause of freedom, to become the founder of the Baptist church in Alexandria lo-

(Continued on page 22)

James Madison, and His Home in Montpelier, Va.

"Madison was the great champion of religious liberty. He wrote the Constitution of the United States, and he was the author of the first ten amendments to the Constitution, granting civil and religious liberty to the individual."



VA. STATE C. OF C.



SUNDAYS

ANCIENT and MODERN

In Old England and Scotland



In Old England

THE following excerpts are taken from "Studies in English History," by Gairdner and Spedding, Chapter VIII, entitled, "Sundays—Ancient and Modern."

"There is no point in which the everyday life of England differs more from that of other countries than in the observance of Sunday. Abroad it is a day of excitement and recreation. Theaters are open, horse races are held, and public amusements of every kind are even more frequented than on week days. Protestantism itself, on the Continent, is free from English austerity, and the most respected citizens of Calvinistic Geneva while away the Sunday evenings with cards and chess. In England everything like recreation is forbidden or looked upon as impious and vulgar; and as we go northward the severity increases, till in Scotland it reaches the extreme."

"Within the last few years questions have been raised in each part of the United Kingdom respecting particular modes of observing the day—whether public gardens and museums should be open, whether bands of music should be allowed to play, and whether railway trains should be allowed to run."

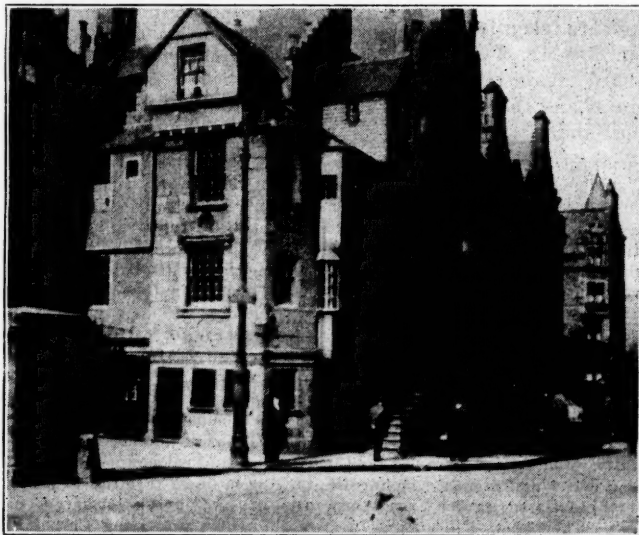
"The common Prayer Book of the Church of England treats the decalogue as a code no less binding upon Christians than it was upon the Jews of old. This is the view of the great majority of Englishmen, and a higher could not be taken by the most rigid Presbyterian. The difference between the Englishman and the Scot appears most in the degree to which they carry out their principles. The former, for the

most part, easily satisfies himself with the reflection that there must always be a difference between theory and practice. With a happy inconsistency, he can drive to church, employing both servants and cattle unnecessarily, pray devoutly that the Lord may incline his heart to keep the Jewish Sabbath, and at dinner express his contempt for the Pharisees in the north who try to prevent Sunday traveling. But the Scotchman, if it were only for appearance' sake, must make some attempt to reconcile his principles and his practice, and if he sincerely believes the former, he will try his best not only to act up to them himself, but to promote their observance by others. Hence the inquisitorial tyranny of kirk sessions, which public opinion in Scotland at one time tolerated. Hence the warm struggle which we witness there at present, between new and old ideas on the Sabbath.

"Scotland is, in fact, at present trying to make up its mind whether Sunday be a divine or human institution. A few years ago the answer would have been almost unanimous from the whole country that Christians were bound no less than Jews to 'remember the Sabbath day, to keep it holy.' But a few years have made a great difference, and the constant ventilation of the subject by those who have long contended for freedom from Sabbatical constraint has at length begun to affect the ideas of the whole community. The opinion is now expressed by both divines and laymen that the Christian Sunday is not a substitute for the Jewish Sabbath, and that its observance must be governed by expedience, not by the Mosaic law." Englishmen "laugh at Scottish super-

stition, and thank God they are not so steeped in bigotry as their Northern fellow countrymen. What both countries have to unlearn is that Puritan theology of the Sabbath which turns what should be a day of cheerfulness into a day of gloom, and against which the reaction has visibly commenced, even more decidedly in Scotland than in England. How this austere theology arose in such a country as ours, how long it was resisted, and how ultimately it triumphed over opposition, and fastened its bitter yoke upon the nation, are among the most curious phenomena in English history.

"The philosophers and theologians of the Middle Ages, universally speak of the Jewish Sabbath as abolished with the other Jewish institutions. Notwithstanding this, some have contended that it is still possible they might have believed in the continued existence of a Sabbath instituted at the creation. The only Christian Sabbath which the Fathers recognized was a spiritual one, consisting either of rest from evil works, or the rest that remained to the faithful in a future life. These, indeed, were Sabbaths to Christian souls, of which the primeval and the Mosaic Sabbath were but types. The Lord's day they regarded as an independent institution, commemorative of the resurrection of Christ, but not instituted by His authority, or that of His apostles. It was simply an ordinance of the church, resting, not upon the Scriptural foundation alleged by Protestants,—for Scripture really says not a word about its institution,—but upon the church's own authority and traditional observance. And so it was regarded also throughout the Middle Ages.



John Knox's House at
Edinburgh

"Knox traveled on Sunday, wrote letters on Sunday, and had the Duke of Chatelherault and the English ambassador to sup with him on Sunday."

"The attempt to seek a Scriptural authority for it in the Apocalypse (Rev. 1:10)—'I was in the Spirit on the Lord's day'—only shows the miserable weakness of the argument which would plead such warrant for observing Sunday instead of Saturday. It can hardly be doubted that the 'Lord's day' here (*γ Κυριακῆς ἡμέρας*) is synonymous with 'the day of the Lord' (*ἡμέρα Κυρίου*) spoken of elsewhere, that was to come like a thief in the night, and that St. John is describing himself as beholding spiritually what was to take place upon that day. But even if this be not the meaning, it is manifest that the text will not bear the weight of the argument, that it is Sunday."

In medieval times, "when religion was more showy than it is now, a day of a special religious character could not have appeared gloomy. Fairs and markets were held on Sunday, celebrated in the immediate vicinity of the church, sometimes in the churchyard. In the churchyard, also, tournaments were held. Plays were acted in the church itself, though forbidden in the canon law, no law whatever forbade their being acted on Sunday. Kings were almost invariably crowned on Sunday. For all kinds of merriment and for all kinds of pageants, Sunday was regarded as a most appropriate day. Nor had the practice altered in this respect in the age of the Reformation. 'Sunday, indeed, in that age,' says Mr. Joseph Robertson, whose remarks have special reference to Scotland, 'was the day generally chosen for mirth and revel. It was on a Sunday that the Reformed Commandators of Holyrood and Coldingham, both of them Lords of the Congregation, rode at

the ring in women's clothes. It was on a Sunday that the Reformed municipality of Edinburgh gave its grand banquet to the queen's French kinsfolks. Knox traveled on Sunday, wrote letters on Sunday, and had the Duke of Chatelherault and the English ambas-

(Continued on p. 22)

PROHIBITION of SUNDAY TRAVELING

THE early American colonies forbade all kinds of traveling on Sunday except going to and returning from church. When railroads first came into existence, they were not permitted to run either passenger or freight cars on Sunday, and there are several States that still have Sunday observance statutes on their books which prohibit trains from running on Sundays. The New Jersey Sunday law prohibits passenger trains from running throughout the State except a distance of twenty miles carrying passengers to and from church. The law, of course, is winked at, as are most Sunday laws.

A writer by the name of Penn wrote a pamphlet in 1850 entitled, "Prohibition of Sunday Traveling," and quotes from a report of the managers of the Pennsylvania Railroad issued in 1850:

"Arrangements have been made for the discontinuance of all operations on the road upon the sabbath; and the board cherish the hope that under the concurrent action of other companies and the State authorities, Pennsylvania will soon cease to be the northern frontier of sabbath desecration."

The following excerpts are taken from this pamphlet, written by Mr. Penn, who vigorously protested against the stopping of railroad trains and the mail of the United States on Sunday:

"The founders of our political government, let it never be forgotten, studiously separated the unholy combinations of church and state, that have ever existed in Europe, as a conspiracy against the liberties of the people, to the detriment of the happiness of mankind and the preservation of true religion. The banded political and religious usurpations have ever exerted their combined strength for the oppression of the people ruled. Our wise forefathers, purified by the ordeal of the Revolution and the principles in which it triumphed, ordained for themselves and posterity a purely political government. They understood the requisition of the true spirit of Christianity, promulgated by a Founder who declared that His kingdom was not of this world, and thereby declared its divine and spiritual character. They knew well



that religion had never allied itself with the powers of the earth but to suffer contamination, and to be used by the latter to bind fetters upon men wholly in conflict with the free governments to be established for the American people.

"Our Constitution declares that 'all men have a natural and inalienable right to worship Almighty God according to the dictates of their own consciences.' Yet the Jew is fined if he will not violate his religion by testifying in a cause on his Sabbath (Dallas, 213); and the Jew and Seventh Day Baptist are punished if they work on Sunday, although they have kept their own Sabbath holy (3 S. & R. 48). These inconsistencies we witness with regret and sorrow for the infirmity of our common nature, but they are the erroneous decisions of those clothed with power, and their correction must be left for the more enlightened future.

"Because some are conscientiously scrupulous against traveling on Sunday, and whom no one has a right or wish to compel to travel against their convictions, have these a right to insist that others who have no such convictions, who may have observed with the utmost strictness their own Sabbath, to compel them to stay at home when they have occasion to go away, or to stay from home when wishing to be there, no matter how urgent the necessity, be it occasion of business, or of sickness, or of death?

"It is in this compulsion that the injustice and tyranny is felt, and felt as a grievous invasion of the inherent right of the citizen of free locomotion for all lawful purposes; felt yet more grievously as a tyranny upon the rights of conscience and individual religious conviction, because emanating from the different religious convictions of another portion who lay hold, not on the political power of the commonwealth, but the business faculties of a railroad corporation, to obtain this advantage coercively over differently professing Christians,

or differently professing Jews, for all stand alike before our Constitution. This is indeed a step beyond the alliance of church and state. It is the alliance of the church, or rather a portion of the church, with a creature of the state, to pervert it from its legitimate functions of a servant to the public for transportation, into an engine of oppression and wrong. The Constitution declares that 'no human authority can, in any case whatever, control or interfere with the rights of conscience.' The legislature has no right to do so.

"A certain canal company, even in England, attempted by a chain to stop a boat from traveling on Sunday, and this company pleaded the act against laboring on that day as their jurisdiction. But the court plainly told the company that they had violated the law. Some of us recollect when our streets were chained during church services, and the people remonstrated and the chains were removed.

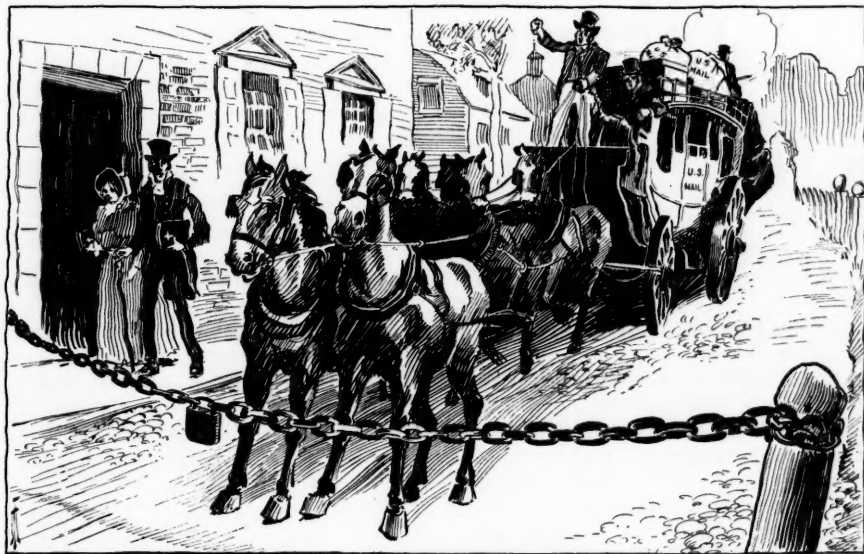
"The law under William Penn prohibited legal process except for crimes, and forbade drinking and tipping at taverns on Sunday, but did not prohibit labor or travel. No man in this State works any day except by voluntary contract; and if he does not like to work on Sunday occasionally as necessary to make the passage through, he can find other employment, or a substitute, or the company can find a substitute for him. And as to the necessity of rest on that day to renew his strength, that physical result would be as well obtained by

rest on another day, and a sufficient number should be employed for so important an object as this company is to accomplish, to give all the needful rest. The iron horse never tires, and at heat he may run his course from the Ohio to the Delaware, with his train and hundreds of passengers.

"In England, where the Episcopal hierarchy is part of the government, there the railroad lines run on Sunday, and do run at cheaper rates than other days of the week, to induce traveling. This is as it should be here—that the laboring classes, who cannot travel on other days, may with thankful hearts enjoy the verdure of the country and the pure breezes of heaven at least one day in the week. We are to abandon the old Quaker habits, which regarded every day alike holy, and the policy of William Penn and his descendants, who regarded Sunday laws as unenlightened heresy, and we are to abandon the tolerant preaching of Paul, who said: 'One man esteemeth one day above another: another esteemeth every day alike. Let every man be fully persuaded in his own mind.' Rom. 14:5. We are to become linked in policy and practice with New England; we are to reform and do better, and be worthy to come under the remnants of the blue laws of Connecticut.

"In the time of the Presidency of General Jackson, the people of New Haven made a long and stout resistance to running a steamboat

(Continued on page 23)



Heavy chains were stretched across Philadelphia streets in 1830 to stop the Sunday mail stage between New York and Washington, to conform to the law of Pennsylvania, enacted in 1794. But the United States Government cut the chains and went through.



A Plaza, With a Cathedral in the Background, in One of the Cities of Mexico

Not TOLERATION, but LIBERTY

By Heber H. Votaw

A GREAT deal is appearing in the papers these days concerning the attitude of the Mexican government toward religious societies. If dispatches may be believed, there is persecution and much resultant suffering. It seems that many rights that Americans look upon as inherent and inalienable are denied Mexican citizens in matters of conscience. Very naturally, the members of the Roman Catholic Church in the United States are concerned over the attitude of the Mexican government toward their coreligionists, and it is evident that some pressure is being brought by Catholics in the United States to induce our government to intervene.

The LIBERTY magazine believes in absolute religious liberty. We give no approval to the interference by the civil authorities in purely religious matters in any country. We stand firmly upon the fundamental American doctrine of complete freedom in all matters that pertain to the conscience, provided only that no man demands for himself a freedom that would infringe on the equal rights of others. The conception of the relation which should exist between church and state as embodied in the fundamental law of our nation has not been grasped in many parts of the world.

We always want to be charitable toward those who have not had the privileges which Americans enjoy, and we would like to believe that Archbishop Ruiz y Flores, who is in San Antonio, Texas, an exile from Mexico, did not represent the real doctrine of his church when he wrote (*Literary Digest*, February 9), "The church recognizes no human power to prevent it from doing what it considers necessary to save souls. In spiritual matters it is subordinate to no one. *The ideal situation would be a harmonious one, with the church united with the state for the*

general good; but where this is denied, the church will tolerate separation of the two powers only so long as the civil power does not interfere in what does not concern it." (Italics ours.)

We beg leave to state emphatically that "the ideal situation" can never be brought about "with the church united with the state." All past history proves conclusively that if the state dominates the union, the church suffers persecution; and if the church is in the ascendancy, the civil law is used for the correction of heretics, and the punishment of those who think for themselves in matters of their soul's welfare.

Archbishop Flores asserts that "the church will tolerate separation of the two powers only so long as the civil power does not interfere in what does not concern it."

We do not believe in toleration. We believe in liberty. The church has absolutely no right as a church to interfere in purely civil matters, and it is too bad when a high official of the church has progressed no farther than to believe that the best the church can do is to tolerate a separation of church and state. Possibly a different conception and a different attitude on the part of the Mexican Catholic clergy would bring about a better understanding with the government. In our enlightened day, the church and the state will probably continue to be at odds in Mexico until the people of that land—laymen and clergy—appreciate the benefits that come from a complete separation of church and state and the recognition by each of the particular sphere in which the other must be supreme.

THE city council of Charlotte, North Carolina, on December 12, 1934, granted a public hearing on the question whether

recreation should be allowed on Sunday in that city, and some of the ministers of the meek and lowly Nazarene certainly came far short of manifesting His spirit on that occasion. Rev. Thomas P. Jimison, a Methodist minister and newspaper columnist, wrote the following account of this very peppery hearing for the *Charlotte News*:

"If the advocates of a closed Sunday in Charlotte did not do their cause a great harm at the meeting of the city council yesterday, then that cause is beyond being hurt. And if the councilmen did not feel rather chawed after the affair was over, then they are either powerful obtuse men, or else they are possessed of a fund of Christian grace more bountiful than that of most ordinary mortals. I have

A Peppery Hearing on Sunday Recreation in Charlotte, N. C.

never witnessed a greater display of intolerance or a worse exhibition of bad manners than took place at that meeting. If the laughing, heckling, unruly crowd that appeared before the governing body

of the city to ask for a more strict observance of the Sabbath represented the mind of the ministerial association, then that body revealed itself in a light which is discreditable to its high ideals; and if the whole mess that ended in disorder was not inimical to the gentle spirit of the loving Christ, then I know nothing of His mind or His ways.

"The meeting began with implied threats that the issue would be injected into the next election, and Rev. W. W. Jones and Rev. W. L. Griggs made no bones about the fact that the ministerial association would rally the church people to defeat the present board in case it did not comply with their demands. Other ministers went as far, and there were only two or three speeches made which did not pulsate with threats and breathe an air of intolerance. One minister went so far as to ask the councilmen if they thought that the opponents of a closed Sunday were 'worthy of recognition.' Practically all of them claimed that the proponents

of a liberal Sunday policy were inspired by sinister commercial interests, and the burden of their appeal was for the municipal authorities to 'help us in our fight against sin.'

"They were all listened to with the utmost respect, they were cheered loudly by their followers when they read passages from the Old Testament or scored the devotees of Sunday amusements, and not one of them was interrupted by the other side. But when Brother W. L. Butler, a layman in the Seventh-day Adventist Church, arose to speak in opposition, quite a number, some of them women, shouted at him to sit down. When he took the position that the Bill of Rights was superior to all legislative enactments, he was given the horselaugh by the crowd, including many of the ministers. They perhaps did not know or care that such a position is held by many of the most eminent jurists and statesmen of this Republic. He was against them, and that was enough to brand him as a servant of the Antichrist.

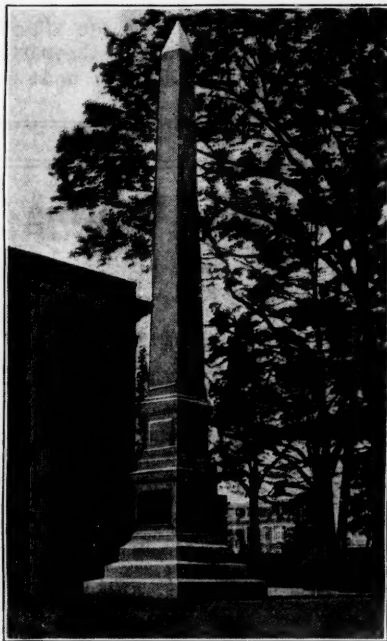
"The Rev. John G. Mitchell, pastor of the Seventh-day Adventist church, and one of the best and most useful ministers in the city, was opposed to any councilmanic or legislative definition of sin, and despite the rudeness of the saints, he made the most temperate appeal, and the most sensible that was heard. He was interrupted time and again, was laughed at derisively by other ministers, and his motives were impugned. However, he remained calm and smiling while he made an eloquent plea for Christian charity, and urged the ministers not to try to substitute a policeman's club for the power of the gospel of Christ. I was not the only one present who felt that Brother Mitchell should have an apology, nor was I the only one who felt that most of those present could very profitably attend his church for a spell.

"But the climax was reached when Brother Chester Nixon was speaking in favor of Sunday

recreation. Mayor Wearn had announced that we would stay till midnight if necessary, and he had been roundly cheered by the brethren and sisters who were proponents of Sunday closing. However, the enthusiasm was evidently for the hearing of their side only. Brother Nixon did not get far with his remarks. He was laughed at, interrupted in various ways, and then Rev. C. R. Nisbet suddenly remembered that it was the evening for the regular midweek prayer service; so he arose and told the council that they would all have to leave. Immediately the crowd began milling about, talking in loud voices, and creating such disorder that the council adjourned in confusion and left Brother Nixon standing, like the boy on the burning deck, with his speech plumb frozen in his throat. A number of other folks wished to be heard, but the brethren who crave to enforce morals with law had been heard, the

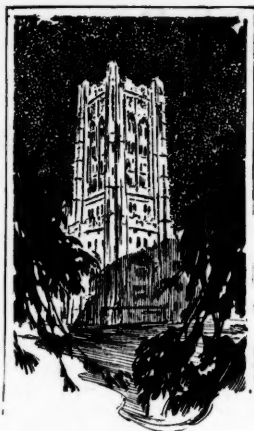
majority of the council had already made up their minds, and there remained no further need for the meeting to hold on.

"The bishop of this flock needs no law to assist him in keeping Sunday as a day of rest. That was instilled into me in a little log house up in old Haywood by my parents. They were unlearned in the books and were not familiar with theological dogma, but they knew the Lord, and they had caught the spirit of His radiant mind and His tolerant ways. From them I learned to be respectful toward all religion, to be charitable toward all my fellow pilgrims along life's way, and to treat the faith of every man with reverence. From that path I do not mean to be swerved at this late day. . . . I know full well, however, that there are men who are far better than I who do not regard Sunday with the reverence which was instilled into me, and I shall not impugn their motives or laugh at their views. And I would not listen to a preacher who had no more respect for my



Monument to the Memory of Signers of the Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence, Charlotte, N. C. It was within a stone's throw of this shaft that liberty lovers were called "out of order," and laughed out of the council chamber by Sunday law forces.

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What NATIONAL REFORM (So Called) Really Is

By
The Managing Editor

RECENTLY National Reform has tried to perk up a bit by side-stepping some of the radical utterances of its representatives of a half century or more ago.

In the *Christian Statesman* for November, 1933, Dr. Parsons, associate editor of the National Reform organ, said:

"We are not concerned about the peculiar expressions of the National Reform leaders of fifty years ago. They had the right idea of the kingdom of God on earth. Perhaps they did not make as sharp a distinction as they should between the Sabbath as a religious institution which required rest and religious observance, and the civil rest day which requires only cessation of labor and business, that all may have the opportunity of religious worship and for rest and social, intellectual, and spiritual recreation."

We are far from conceding that the National Reform leaders of fifty years ago had the right idea; their idea was the same as the idea of the National Reformers of today, namely, civil government set up by man in the name of the Creator, and administered by men assuming to act for God. That was the National Reform idea of fifty years ago, and it is evident that the self-styled reformers still have the same idea.

Forty years ago, or, to be exact, December 14, 1895, answering the objection, "Put God and Christ and the

Bible into the hearts of the people, and there will be no necessity for the proposed amendment," the *Christian Statesman* said:

"The first thing to be noticed is that it [National Reform] is an effort to secure the acceptance, by every man, of God as the source of all authority, of Jesus Christ as the King in every relation of life, including the political, and of the Bible as the supreme rule of conduct everywhere. In other words, it is an effort to secure at least all that the objector says ought to be secured in order to the purifying of the political pool.

"But the practical reformer is often met by the astounding fact that many of those who profess to have God, and Christ, and the Bible in their hearts are ringleaders in political corruption. And a little investigation reveals the fact that they do not consider themselves bound by moral restraints in the political sphere. They have accepted God, Christ, and the Bible for deliverance from condemnation in the next world, and probably for the regulation of ecclesiastical affairs, but not for the regulation of political conduct. From the political sphere divine authority and law are ruled out.

"The National Reform movement aims to supplement the work that has been done in putting Christ and His law in the hearts for salvation in the next world, but putting into the heart respect for divine authority and law in the sphere of politics.

"It is an effort to drive out of men's hearts the secular theory of politics, and to teach men that they must accept of God as supreme in the political sphere, of Christ as their ruler in politics, and of the divine will as of supreme authority in all political matters. This is practical reform work of the most fundamental and necessary kind. There never will be thorough and permanent reform so long as men act on the secular theory of politics, which practically and theoretically denies accountability to God for acts performed in the political sphere."

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Shall PUBLIC FUNDS Be Appropriated for SECTARIAN Institutions?

By
Our Midwestern Correspondent

THE efforts of the Catholic Church in Ohio to secure public money for the support of their parochial schools merit the serious attention of every patriotic American citizen.

According to *Our Sunday Visitor*, the "popular national Catholic Action weekly," Bishop Schrembs, of Cleveland, has served notice upon the whole country that Catholics are going into politics, and are going to vote against every candidate for public office who does not endorse their program for the schools.

The editor of the *Sunday Visitor* reports:

"The fight for school relief is not ended," says Bishop Schrembs, of Cleveland, 'despite the fact that aid was refused by the last legislature.' . . . There is the injustice toward Catholic education to which we have had to submit in the past, and will in the future unless we learn how to express our rights at election time."—Oct. 7, 1934.

Again the editor quotes:

"Bishop Schrembs referred to the courageous fighting spirit of Archbishop Hughes of New York a century ago. Such fighting spirit is needed today, not only in Ohio, but in the other forty-seven States of the Union."

We would suggest to Catholics who are starting this fight that they are lighting a fire that may burn in many directions. They are playing with a two-edged sword that may cause them considerable injury, and result in greater loss than all they hope to gain in their proposed campaign.

Supposing the citizens of Ohio and other States should decide to prohibit Catholics from teaching in the public schools? Can they consistently object? "In New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, Boston, Columbus, Baltimore, St. Louis, Buffalo, Los Angeles, and San Francisco, 75 per cent of the public school teachers are Catholics." If Catholics contribute nothing toward the support of the schools, have no children within their walls, and retain their ratio of taxes, then there is no valid reason why they should secure

any monetary benefits therefrom, and especially when many taxpayers need employment.

There has been a tendency for some years on the part of the hierarchy in this country to demand favors on the basis of their so-called membership. This is not true Americanism; it is contrary to the whole idea of equality and freedom and the principle of separation of church and state. The business of the Federal government and that of all the States should be conducted with *citizens*, not with Catholics, Jews, or Protestants, as such. The result of such pleadings for special favors for a particular religious faith will only arouse antagonism on the part of others not of their persuasion.

The Constitution of the United States provides for the protection of the rights of both the minority and the majority,



whether religious or nonreligious. All are free religiously and politically to secure whatever privileges the nation offers, if done legitimately. But in pleading for special privileges on the basis of numbers or superiority of religion or age, they are fighting against the very principles of liberty which America holds dear and will not give up without a tremendous struggle.

As a citizen the Catholic has no more right to complain than the bachelor with no children, the thousands of other unmarried taxpayers, and the married persons without children, all of whom contribute their share for the education of America's youth.

The political threats that are now being made will no doubt react unfavorably upon the Catholics. They will cause a checkup on the Catholic officeholders. And should non-Catholic citizens adopt Catholicism's policy of demanding public office on the basis of representation, it would result in the elimination of more than 50 per cent of the present officeholders of that persuasion.

This question of the state's giving financial support to private and religious schools is not a new one in this country. Our statesmen have had to deal with it on numerous occasions, and have forestalled these demands by legislation against it. In the '70's it became so acute that this amendment to the Federal Constitution was proposed by Mr. Blaine:

"No State shall make any law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; and no money raised by school taxation in any State, for the support of public schools, or derived from any public fund

Speaking to the Knights of Columbus, October 12, 1915, President Roosevelt said on this subject: "I hold that in this country there must be complete severance of church and state; that public moneys shall not be used for the purpose of advancing any particular creed; and therefore that the public schools shall be non-sectarian, and no public moneys appropriated for sectarian schools."

thereof, nor any public lands devoted thereto, shall ever be under the control of any religious sect; nor shall any money so raised, or lands so devoted, be divided between religious sects."

The favor with which this proposed legislation was received may be seen in the vote. It passed the Ohio House of Representatives by the almost unanimous vote of 180 to 7. In the Senate it carried by 28 to 16, falling a few votes short of the necessary two thirds.

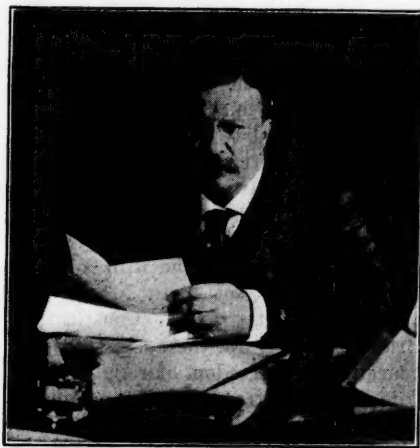
Many of our great American statesmen have expressed their opinions publicly on this matter. President U. S. Grant, in an address in Des Moines, Iowa, before the Army of the Tennessee, 1875, stated:

"Leave the matter of religion to the family altar, the church, and the private school supported entirely by private contribution."

President James A. Garfield, in accepting the nomination for the Presidency, expressed his feelings on this point:

"Whatever help the nation can justly afford should be generously given to aid the States in supporting common schools; but it would be unjust to our people, and dangerous to our institutions, to apply any portion of the revenues of the nation, or the States, to the support of sectarian schools. The separation of the church and the state in everything relating to taxation should be absolute."

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CLINEDINST

OUR TWOFOLD CONSTITUTION

THE Constitution of the United States and the Declaration of Independence constitute the fundamental law of the land. The triumph of the fundamental principles of government and the inalienable rights of all men as set forth in these two immortal documents, gave birth to the American Republic and have made it what it is today.

As we consider the founders of our democracy, and compare them with the general selection of lawmakers at any given period, we are compelled to admit that they were the ablest and best-qualified group of statesmen that ever assembled in any country to shape the future ideals and destiny of a nation. The beneficent fruits and results which have followed their labors, attest the enduring value of their work.

Our forefathers built wisely. The Constitution was constructed on a twofold basis. It was made both flexible and inflexible. It dealt with fundamental principles which are unchangeable and with governmental policies which are in the flux. Certain provisions of the Constitution deal with the natural, inalienable, God-given rights of the individual, which no government on earth has a right to abridge.

The Constitution limits the powers of the highest lawmaking body relative to these rights, and these constitutional guaranties are embodied in what is generally known as the Bill of Human Rights, as set forth in the first ten amendments to the Constitution. Briefly summed up, these constitutional guaranties are freedom of religion, freedom of speech, freedom of the press, the sanctity of contract, the right to life, liberty, and property, trial by jury, and the right to the writ of habeas

By C. S. Longacre



corpus. These guaranties in the Constitution are a part of its permanent fabric and structure. They are fundamental principles that never undergo any change. The government is always bound to respect them, no matter how time and circumstances may compel changes in policies of administration.

Policies of government may change under our Constitution, but the fundamental principles guaranteed to the people under the Constitution never change. The government may override fundamental verities and inalienable rights, but justice still confirms them. Whenever essential justice is overridden in the administration of law, and the natural rights of man are ignored, the heritage of human freedom is placed in jeopardy, and civilized society begins to retrograde. The hope of every true-hearted American is that our government may always aim to perpetuate this precious, blood-bought heritage of civil and religious liberty which our forefathers bequeathed to posterity.

There is a great deal said today about the Constitution's being set aside by certain governmental policies which have been inaugurated. Our good President Roosevelt, in his opening message to the Seventy-fourth Congress, said:

"We have undertaken a new order of things, yet we progress to it under the framework and in the spirit and intent of the American Constitution."

This important and significant statement of President Roosevelt brings us to the consideration of another aspect of our Federal Constitution, namely, its flexible side. From the very foundation of our government, the Supreme Court of the United States has served as the interpreter of the Constitution, and by its decisions it has added materially to what in England is denominated "the unwritten Constitution." The doctrine of implied powers, incorporated in the

Constitution, has been invoked time and again by the Supreme Court of the United States in order to adapt the Constitution to the new developments and changes in the national life of the Republic. In this way the Constitution has been expanded to meet new conditions, just as a growing boy is given a new suit to fit his ever-expanding dimensions. The public good and the general welfare provisions in the Constitution have been enlarged to an extent never anticipated by Thomas Jefferson, who favored a very strict interpretation of the written Constitution.

The social and economic conditions

in our country have gone through many transformations, and phenomenal changes have necessitated new adaptations in the administration of law and justice. The Constitution was so constructed in its flexible framework and content as to meet new situations that might arise, and new emergencies that would have to be met. The Supreme Court of the United States has always attempted to meet these new conditions and changes in the national life of our government by invoking the general welfare clause and the implied powers provision of the Constitution so as to meet the situation

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A View of the New United States Supreme Court Building in Washington, D. C.



Ohio Pastors Oppose Parochial State Aid

•
*Eternal Vigilance
Is the
Price of Liberty*
•

THE agitation for State support of private schools in Ohio continues. From information which comes to us, it appears that the lines are being drawn, and that State officials will be called upon to take a definite stand on this question. There have been brought to the attention of *LIBERTY* the resolutions adopted on February 6 by the Ohio Pastors' Convention which met in Columbus. We believe these resolutions are essentially sound, and that the principles therein enunciated are of the gravest importance. Lovers of liberty should take alarm at anything which savors of a union of church and state, anything that would turn the hands of our progress backward, anything that would undo the gains that have been made.

We pride ourselves upon the fact that we allow no religious prejudices to move us in reaching our conclusions concerning principles. We believe that the Catholic Church has a perfect right to conduct its private schools. We would enter the lists in their behalf if this privilege were denied them. But, with many others, we believe that State aid would do their schools harm instead of good. Our experience has been that often ministerial conventions have not seen clearly the great principles of complete separation of church and state, religion and the government. It is therefore a pleasure to present what the Ohio pastors recently passed:

"In the presentation of this report, the committee is very anxious to set forth several posi-

tive premises, which they trust will be clearly borne in mind and definitely accepted.

"The issue which is before the people of the State of Ohio is not a new one. The effort to secure public money for the support of parochial, church, and private schools dates back to the very beginning of our American public school system. Prior to 1830 there were many denominational schools enjoying tax support. It was due largely to the work of Horace Mann, that the constitutional principle of the separation of church and state was interpreted as requiring the separation of church control from the tax supported schools. The Roman Catholic Church has never been satisfied. In 1841, Bishop Hughes of New York organized a Catholic Party which nominated its own candidates for the legislature on the platform 'public money for the support of Catholic schools.' While this effort met defeat, the movement has not stopped, and in the recent election the issue was again forced to the front. In the legislature of our own State, bills will be presented by initiative, calling for the setting aside of large sums of money for the support of church, private, and other so-called free-tuition schools, upon a pro-rata basis of pupils and so-called secular studies.

"We deny to no man the right to worship God according to the dictates of his conscience. The issue is distinctly on the historic, constitutional basis of separation of church and state. In the true spirit of freedom, there have been established free public schools to which all the children of all the people are equally welcome. If a church or private group desire to establish their own schools, the right is not denied, but they must assume full responsibility for the support and maintenance of them. If the burden is too heavy, they may close their schools, and their children will be adequately cared for by the public, tax-supported schools. If the public schools are not adequate, it is the duty of the State to make them so. Our opposition does not rise from religious prejudice. We oppose the use of public funds for any and all sectarian or private schools.

"We believe that the appropriation of any public money for the support of any sectarian, parochial, or private school, would seriously endanger the very life of our public school system. Already operating under tremendous handicaps, thousands of teachers unemployed, many children denied education or given only

(Continued on page 28)

Sunday Issue Again Before the Pennsylvania Legislature

BILL No. 167, which provides for a popular referendum to ascertain the will of the electors on the question of Sunday recreation, is now pending before the Pennsylvania Legislature. A year ago a similar bill was enacted into law, granting the right to the various political units in the State to decide for themselves whether or not Sunday baseball games should be allowed. This bill goes a step further, and grants the people the right to determine whether or not "concerts, lectures, and all sorts of theatrical entertainment usually performed in theaters" shall be permissible on Sundays after 1:30 P. M.

So far as the State legislature of Pennsylvania is concerned, we do not see why it should not let the people of the State decide for themselves the issue of attending theatrical performances, concerts, and lectures on Sunday, the same as it decided a year ago that they should be granted that right relative to the attendance at baseball games on Sunday. Whether these things are proper for Christians or religious people to attend on Sundays is not a matter for the State legislature to determine. Such a question is a matter of conscience, and if a church creed forbids it, then it is purely a matter of church discipline for the church itself to exercise relative to its own members who have violated the creed. The civil magistrate should always remain neutral on questions of religious obligation in the exercise of his functions as a public official.

Under a union of church and state it was deemed proper to enforce religious duties, such as Sunday observance, under State laws. Five States in the Union have seen the incongruity of enforcing



Pennsylvania's State Capitol Building

religious obligations by State authority under a separation of church and state, and as a consequence have repealed all their Sunday laws. That is what every State ought to do that believes in a separation of church and state and in the free exercise of the conscience in religious matters. Such a course of action does not in the least reflect upon religion or place a discount upon religious obligations, but rather puts a premium upon religion and its inherent values. A religious dogma that cannot stand on its own merits without receiving aid and legal sanction from the state, is a weak thing, and deserves to perish. Every religious dogma should stand on Scriptural authority and the conscience of the individual for acceptance, without appeal to state authority.

Going to a baseball game or to a theater cannot, in itself, be a violation of a moral principle or be uncivil on Sunday, for what is immoral and uncivil on Sunday is also immoral and uncivil on Monday. Certainly the State legislature would not assume an attitude that a baseball game or a theatrical performance is in itself immoral and uncivil on Monday; therefore it cannot declare it so on Sunday. To hold that baseball and theatrical performances are sinful on the Sabbath day according to the Scriptures, is not for the State legislature to determine. Sin cannot be defined and punished by civil

law. A sin is an offense against God, and offenses against God and religion cannot rightfully be punished by the state or the civil magistrate. The state deals only with crime and man's offenses against man. The Sabbath does not belong to man, but to God. Therefore man should not be punished by the state for not observing it as a holy day.

The only consistent thing to do is to repeal all religious laws, and eliminate them from the civil statute books. If the legislature does not have the courage to do this, it should at least give the people an opportunity to exercise their courage in the matter of completely separating the church and the state and allowing every person to worship God, or not to worship, if he so elects, in harmony with the dictates of his own conscience.

C. S. L.

Military Drills Forced on Students

IN an editorial, the Columbus (Ohio) *Citizen* on Tuesday, December 4, 1934, comments upon the decision of the United States Supreme Court upholding the right of universities which receive aid under the Morrill Land Grant Act to compel students to participate in military drill:

"Unfortunately, perhaps, the Supreme Court did not rule on the question of whether, under the Morrill Land Grant Act, universities and colleges which accept the benefits of the act must make military training compulsory. That question, Justice Butler's opinion said, was not involved in the California case.

"In effect, as we understand it, the decision means that each land grant university or college is empowered to decide for itself what kind of military training it shall offer; and, by inference, unless a future ruling of the court is obtained, to decide for itself whether the courses shall be compulsory or optional. . . .

"This decision will disappoint many sincere people, who believe firmly that conscientious objection should be a sufficient ground for exemption from military training. Justice Butler's opinion went even further, to declare that nothing in the Constitution, but only policies adopted by Congress, exempt conscientious objectors from actual military service in wartime, although Justice Cardozo, in a memorandum,

argued that this point was not at issue in the case decided.

"At any rate, the question of optional or compulsory drill is removed by the Supreme Court from the field of litigation. But it remains alive as a question of public policy, subject to determination by university boards of trustees and State legislatures. That means, of course, that the settlement in the last analysis rests upon public opinion.

"Ohio State University is now clearly within its legal rights in requiring male students to drill for two years. [This is true of all land grant colleges.] The only alternative for such students, if their conscientious scruples forbid them to drill, is to go elsewhere to school. It seems to us possible that when such students do go elsewhere, the loss to the university may in many cases be greater than the loss to the students. . . .

"Accepting the official view of military authorities that the purpose of military training in colleges is to fit men for service and leadership in time of war, there is good ground for argument that an optional course would accomplish this aim better and at less expense than a compulsory course.

"Under present conditions at Ohio State and other universities where the compulsory rule still applies, many of the students enrolled in military courses are unwilling pupils, giving as little effort to the work as possible, regarding it as an unimportant though onerous part of their college work.

"It is difficult to see what would be lost by eliminating such students from the military courses; they are just so much dead weight, and without them the military instructors could give better training to those who are interested.

"Particularly regrettable, it seems to us, are efforts to confuse this question of educational policy with emotional appeals to patriotism or charges of communist agitation. Ohio has four State-supported colleges where drill is not required, and we hear no charges that these are unpatriotic institutions.

"There may be a communist element in the antidrill forces, but it should be remembered that the spearhead of the opposition to drill in this State has been the Methodist Episcopal Church, supported by numerous other religious bodies, which make a clear-cut plea in behalf of religious liberty.

"The fact that communists may, and do, attempt to make capital out of many causes, does not necessarily condemn those causes. Communists, for instance, quite generally and bitterly condemn the New Deal, which does not impugn the patriotism of conservative Republicans who also condemn the New Deal. Communists have agitated for payment of the soldiers' bonus, which certainly does not convict the American Legion of subversive or treasonable motives."

It occurs to us that the reasoning of the *Citizen* is sound. We are not convinced that those who are noisiest are always the most patriotic. Some men are wonderful soldiers in time of peace, and not so good when war comes. Some show well on the parade ground only. Every great war has brought to light those who inherently abhor war and carnage, and yet who are so unselfish that they gave their lives gladly in the attempt to save their fellows. We are willing to concede that the military drill may give some physical benefits. We are strongly of the opinion that there are other means more potent in developing good citizens. No government can profit by disregarding the conscientious convictions of its people.

H. H. V.

"The Future of Liberty"

(Continued from page 3)

run lead to a cataclysm. The machinery of democracy may call, and does call, for reform, and the methods of enabling the people to exercise in freedom their influence on government may have to be altered from those at present in vogue.

"But to suppose that in the modern world you can dispense with freedom in human government, that you can govern without the consent of the governed, is to fly in the face of decent human nature as well as the facts of history. Dictatorship can be tolerated only as a temporary expedient, and can never be a permanent substitute for free self-government. Freedom is the most ineradicable craving of human nature. Without it peace, contentment, and happiness, even manhood itself, are not possible. The declaration of Pericles in his great Funeral Oration holds for all time:

"Happiness is Freedom, and Freedom is Courage." That is the fundamental equation of all politics and all human government, and any system which ignores it is built on sand.

"The denial of what is deepest in our spiritual nature must lead to a material mechanist civilization where economic goods take the place of the spiritual values, and where mankind can, at best, achieve only a distorted and stunted growth, a sort of substitute or 'Ersatz' humanity—very different from that which has been our ideal through the ages.

A Grave Duty

"In these days of widespread backsliding, of lukewarmness or downright disloyalty to our

fundamental human ideals, the countries which have always been in the forefront of the historic fight for human liberty have a very grave duty imposed on them. They cannot refuse the challenge of the times. They dare not abandon the cause which our forefathers rightly placed along with religion itself as calling for the highest loyalty and the greatest sacrifices. For even more than political principles and constitutions are at stake. The vision of freedom, of liberation of the human spirit from its primeval bondage, is perhaps the greatest which has yet dawned on our human horizon. It forms the real spur of progress, the lure of our race in its ceaseless striving toward the future. According to Plato, the movement of the world is from brute force to freedom, from fate or necessity to reason, from compulsion to persuasion. Man's progress through the ages is from a regime of domination to one of understanding, consent, and free cooperation. That great movement of liberation of the human spirit is the glory of our past. It is also our inescapable program for the future.

"More and more will to freedom should be our real motive power. In the uncertainties and paralyzing perplexities of today, freedom should not merely be our abstract political ideal, but a creative force, inspiring our young men and women to noble action.

"The inner freedom and harmony of the soul; social freedom and equality before the law as the foundation of the state; international freedom in the rule of peace and justice,—these should be the creative ideals of the new age, instead of sterilizing the repressions of the past and still more sterilizing the tyrannies which are forging new shackles for the human spirit. Creative freedom is the watchword of the new order, to the realization of which we should bend our energies.

"I have no doubt that the present disquieting phase will pass and a new renaissance of the European spirit will follow. What a glorious opportunity to our youth today to live in times when the situation is once more fluid and the world is once more in the remaking! Are we going to leave a free field to those who threaten our fundamental human ideals and our proudest heritage from the past? Or are we going to join in battle—an age-long battle which has been going forward from the dawn of history—for the breaking of our bonds and the enlargement of our range of free choice and free action? Remembering the great appeal of Pericles which rings through the ages, let us seek our happiness in freedom, and bravely do our part in hastening the coming of the great day of freedom."

Truly, our heritage of civil and religious freedom is trembling in the balance of destiny. We hope General Smuts is correct that those who are

bravely struggling against this new tyranny will succeed in breaking its shackles and fetters and "hastening the coming of the great day of freedom." But that "great day of freedom" in the future may not dawn again "until He come whose right it is" to reign, and the agelong hope of "the sons of God" is fulfilled in the final deliverance "from the bondage of corruption into the glorious liberty of the children of God." Truly, the times in which we live are ominous, and only divine revelation can foretell the outcome.

C. S. L.

Religious Liberty an American Product

(Continued from page 5)

cated not far from the jail in which he had been imprisoned, and the site of which has been marked by the D. A. R.'s, as Mr. Moore was also a soldier of the Revolution. Elder Moore predicted in an address in 1792 that if slavery was not abolished by the government, blood would flow as freely in this country as it was then flowing in France.

In concluding his speech on religious liberty, Hon. Mr. Moore said:

"Religious liberty means that a man has a right not only to believe, but to disbelieve. No government on earth has a right to restrain him in the opinions he holds. There are many countries today that deny this right. This right is ever in danger in our own country and in all countries."

Mr. Moore was for many years a member of Congress from Virginia. We wish we had many more like him in Congress and in the executive departments of our government, with vision as clear on the subject of religious liberty.

A TYRANT always justifies his acts which infringe on the rights of his subjects, under the pretext that they are for the public good.

Sundays—Ancient and Modern

(Continued from page 7)

sador to sup with him on Sunday. . . . For more than twenty years after Knox was in his grave, Robin Hood plays were acted on Sundays, and the king of May held his gambols on Sundays in Scotland; as in England, masques and interludes continued to be performed before the court on Sundays, throughout the reigns of Elizabeth and James."

"Among the Anglo-Saxons the day was at first reckoned to begin on Saturday evening, and afterward was counted from noon on Saturday to dawn on Monday. Until we come to the days of the Lollards, the only piece of Sunday legislation on the statute book is an Act of the twenty-eighth year of Edward III, which provides 'that showing of wools shall be made at the staple every day of the week except the Sundays and solemn feast days of the year.' But within a century from that date, Lollard earnestness had begun to tell even upon churchmen. In 1444 the first attempt appears to have been made—and a miserable failure it proved—to institute a Puritan observance of Sunday in the metropolis (London). An act was passed by the Common Council, as we learn from Fabyan (Fabyan's Chronicle, p. 617), 'that upon the Sunday should no manner of thing within the franchise of the city be bought or sold, neither victual nor other thing, nor none artificer should bring his ware to any man to be worn or occupied that day, as tailors' garments or cordwainers' shoes, and so in likewise of all other occupations; the which ordinance held but a while.'"

The Sunday laws were "repealed in Henry VIII's time." The leading Reformers themselves were opposed to the many rigid restraints on Sunday. "Calvin even declared his opinion that the church was not bound to number its days by sevens, and that a community might alter the day from Sunday to Thursday if it pleased. Aylmer, Bishop of London, was accused of breaking the Sabbath by playing at bowls.

"But meanwhile a set of men had risen up who looked upon all forms of recreation on Sunday as sinful, and sought to put an end to a number of innocent amusements in which the people had been accustomed to indulge from time immemorial. Dr. Nicholas Bound, who was the first clearly to enunciate the Sabbatarian principles of the Puritans, in a treatise published in

1595, maintained, among other things, that the ringing of more bells than one on Sunday was not justified. The sabbath (Sunday) became henceforth one of the leading doctrines of Puritan theology, and with Puritanism it must now stand or fall. When the Long Parliament met (under Cromwell), he would have been a bold man who ventured to write against the Puritanic sabbath (Sunday). Dr. Pocklington's sermons and treatises, entitled, 'Sunday No Sabbath,' were ordered to be burnt by the common hangman; and those who disliked Sabbatarian austerity were obliged to hold their peace.

"The Sunday Act of 1657 forbade all traveling, playing on instruments, 'profane walking,' and carrying burdens, besides the pursuits of men's ordinary calling: also 'idle sitting, openly, at gates or doors,' and constables were given power to enter men's houses to see that Sunday was observed at home as well as in the streets.

"Even under Cromwell the austerity was not so great as that of the sects which had just before those days emigrated to the New World, for freedom to worship in their own way. The following enactments were contained in the first draft of the laws of Massachusetts, as drawn up by John Cotton, a Puritan minister, who had emigrated from Boston, in Lincolnshire: 'Whoever shall profane the Lord's day by doing unnecessary work, by unnecessary traveling, or by sports and recreations, he or they who so transgress shall forfeit forty shillings, or be publicly whipped; but if it shall appear to have been done presumptuously, such person or persons shall be put to death, or otherwise severely punished at the discretion of the court.' 'No one shall run on the Sabbath day, or walk in his garden or elsewhere, except reverently to or from meeting.' 'No one shall travel, cook victuals, make beds, sweep house, cut hair, or shave, on the sabbath day' (Sunday). 'No woman shall kiss her child on the sabbath, or fasting day.' 'If any

man shall kiss his wife, or wife her husband, on the Lord's day, the party in fault shall be punished at the discretion of the magistrate.'"—*Quoted from Robert Cox, F. S. A., in "Sabbath Laws and Sabbath Duties," and in Hessay's Bampton Lectures, p. 467.*

"Thus did the Puritans of New England who rebelled against even the shadow of ecclesiastical authority, forge to themselves chains."

Prohibition of Sunday Traveling

(Continued from page 9)

there on Sunday with the United States mail; their scruples nevertheless gave way somehow before an increased offer of ten thousand dollars per annum, and it is believed, under better influence, they have since become more enlightened and liberal, and there cars do run every Sunday through Massachusetts and Connecticut.

"Our short history is full of warning against the assumption of power. Above all let this company and the legislature not presume to dictate to the consciences of men, to intermeddle with the rights of free men, yet less with those that pertain to the worship of the Creator. True religion and pure, void of hypocrisy and offense, will never be advanced by legal or hierarchical restraints, but only by the law of love, persuasion, and conviction. By the law of our nature force will beget force; action, reaction. By force or coercion, Christianity was never promoted; and Jesus stayed the sword that would have avenged Him. The Almighty fiat could have struck instantaneous conviction in the minds of all mankind; yet did our Saviour mourn over the obdurate people of Jerusalem, whom He would have gathered under His wings of love, but they would not, and was crucified by them; and His Holy Spirit has since striven with men for nearly two thousand years. The work of God is to be accomplished only in the way divinely appointed,—by the persuasions of divine goodness, by the whisperings of the still small voice to the consciences of men. It is not permitted to man presumptuously to appeal in matters of religion and conscience to a forbidden compulsion."

THE moral coward and weakling who is unwilling to face the difficulties in life, shows his yellow streak by declaring all things rotten, and then retires from the conflict.

Rights of Kings Versus Rights of People

BY A. R. BELL

THE divine right of kings!" Haven't we heard of it many times? It is an age-old doctrine. It would seem that kings are in a special class, and that they are inheritors of a just and proper claim or title to privileges not enjoyed by all. Then, too, it would seem that these privileges are divine, or in other words, inherited by kings from God, kings being in a class above and far beyond the rest of us.

We therefore ask, Who are these kings who claim rights and privileges above their fellows, and where do they get their "divine" prerogatives?

One would imagine that they are who they are because God has ordained and ordered it so. We read considerable about kings in the Bible, but of few who became kings because God had ordained and ordered it. We read that there came a time when Israel wanted a king, but the counsel of God was against it. The Lord told them just what a tyrant a king would be, but they turned down the counsel of the Lord, being determined to have their own way. And God, who respects the rights and wishes of His own people, stepped aside, and let them have their own way. Israel found, to their sorrow, the tyranny of kingship.

We may infer, then, to say the least, that kings are not from God, as such, but that they are of human choosing. And yet we have them still with us, so filled with this idea of "divine right," that, like George V of England, they speak of "my subjects," "my people," "my empire," "my army," "my navy," "my government," as though they inherited their kingship and the people and the government from God, and that their "rights" are "divine."

It has been said of one king that as he stood naked before the mirror, he soliloquized, "Here stands a sinner," and

pointing to his kingly habiliments, said, "There stands the king." Mortals like the rest of us, they often prove weak and unworthy, many of them altogether unfit for their calling.

No wonder that we of America take great pride in our Declaration of Independence, which declares, "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed." No wonder that through this immortal document America became the beacon light of liberty to the whole world.

The Declaration of Independence was a formal but strenuous objection to the age-old falsity. In the language of Hon. James A. Reed, of Missouri, "Against the doctrine of the divine right of kings to rule the people, the fathers declared the divine right of the people to rule themselves."

Aristides, a Greek statesman of the fifth century B. C., is noted as saying, "Not stones, nor wood, nor the art of artisans make a state; but where men are who know how to take care of themselves, these are cities and walls." How different from the statement of Louis XIV of France, "The State! It is I."

The world was sick. Government among men seemed doomed to failure. It was producing nothing but a race of serfs, when the Majesty of heaven, who "has the destiny of nations, as well as the concerns of His church in His charge," chose the men and circumstances for the time, and (as the writer believes, because the time was ripe) in His divine providence had flung out to the world afar the doctrine that "all men are created equal," etc., and who through this document and the Constitution of the United States, gave us a government of the people, by the people, and for the people as against the divine

right of kings to rule. And it is still true that "the declaration that our people are hostile to a government made by themselves, for themselves, and conducted by themselves, is an insult."—*Address by John Adams to the citizens of Westmoreland County, Virginia, July 11, 1798.*

How wonderfully sweet is the sound of the words: "We, the people of the United States," to "secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America." How proud we ought to be of America! How proud we ought to be of her institutions—freedom of speech, freedom of the press, the right to assemble peaceably, the right to petition the government for redress of grievances, the right to worship God (or not to worship, just as we please) according to the dictates of our own consciences, and that "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof."

What a contrast to the doctrine of the divine right of kings! As between the two, our own Lincoln said, "It is the eternal struggle between these two principles—right and wrong—throughout the world. They are the two principles that have stood face to face from the beginning of time, and will ever continue to struggle. The one is the common right of humanity, and the other is the 'divine right of kings.'"

How jealously we ought to guard these inalienable rights. How we ought ever to be on the watch, lest men with a zeal, but not according to knowledge, "arrogate to themselves supreme and irresponsible powers," and these matchless institutions be trampled in the mire. We should remember that "eternal vigilance is the price of liberty." The Constitution is the inviolable refuge of minorities.

Over and over again the halls of legislation and the courts of the land are sought to break the power of conscience. The principles of liberty, born anew

through a baptism of blood, should be the study of the hour.

The writer, as he views the situation existing today, and the tendencies of men in power in our land, is forcibly reminded of the time when Hon. Champ Clark was the speaker of the House of Representatives, which position was honored by the man. He asked this question of the national House: "What subtle poison is working in the blood to produce a result so puzzling and so contradictory to our history and traditions? The evil one himself must have laid a spell upon the American mind for the purpose of luring to its destruction this great Republic, the last hope of constitutional government on the whole face of the earth."

What National Reform (So Called) Really Is

(Continued from page 13)

There is but one way to secure true, acceptable recognition of the will and law of God, and that is by genuine change of heart—by true conversion.

The *Christian Statesman* proposes, however, to accomplish that end by making it easy and popular to do right. Stop all secular work and business, amusements, joy riding, reading of Sunday papers, motion pictures, etc., on Sunday, and many who now spend the day in self-gratification will drift back to the church!

But would such service be acceptable to God? No; God desires heart service. "God is love," and whatsoever is not of love is not from Him. There is no power in human legislation to make true Christians.

National Reform seems to see in the present unsettled state of politics an opportunity to obtain practical recognition. Here is an opportunity for log-rolling that must not be missed, and so the so-called "reformers" are in the field to get all they can and presumably to

give what they must. Let our national legislators remember and respect the words of the First Amendment to the Federal Constitution: "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof."

Our Twofold Constitution

(Continued from page 17)

and at the same time save the Constitution in its spirit and intent. The letter and the spirit of the Constitution must both be so construed as not to contradict each other.

The Congress of the United States has been permitted to enact legislation to meet new conditions and emergencies so long as such legislation does not violate the spirit and intent, nor the inflexible and permanent provisions, of the Constitution in the judgment of the highest court. The elasticity of the Constitution must never be permitted to do violence to the stability of its provisions. The policies of the government must not be allowed to supersede the fundamental principles of government as embodied in the Federal Constitution. No emergency can or must ever outlaw the Constitution in its permanent and inflexible framework, or the government itself will be destroyed. The Constitution was made for man, and not man for the Constitution. The Constitution was made by man for the temporal good of man; and when man destroys the Constitution, he annihilates his greatest human protector and benefactor.

The Constitution cannot be set aside in its permanent features without surrendering our liberties. We cannot have either a Fascist or a Socialist form of government under our Constitution. It is fundamental to our Constitution that the executive, the legislative, and the judicial branches of our government shall not infringe upon the prerogatives of one another, and that governmental

powers are to be derived "from the consent of the governed." Whenever the three branches of government are centered in one head or one governmental bureau, the very foundation and framework of the Constitution is destroyed, and it ceases to be a democratic form of government. It has become an absolute tyranny, destructive of the rights of the people.

Our Constitution is like the human mechanism. Like a normal human body, it has a framework that is permanent, which protects the vital organs so they can function. The Constitution provides for two legislative branches of government,—the Senate and the House of Representatives, comparable to the two lungs in the human body. The Constitution provides for an executive head to execute the laws enacted by Congress, comparable to the human heart, which pumps through the human body the blood that is returned from the lungs purified.

The Constitution provides for a judiciary, which acts as a check upon the legislative powers of Congress and the executive powers of the President, and aims to preserve the permanent features of the Constitution, and to expand the unwritten part by interpretation and application as the changed conditions of the body politic may necessitate such a course of action. It is comparable to the liver, which acts as a regulator and nutrition supply house for the blood stream by adding new food values and eliminating poisons, as changed conditions in the human body may require for the health of the body.

When our Republic was young and growing, it required a number of additions to its Constitution in the form of amendments to meet the exigencies of the changing times and the growth of the Republic, just as the growing boy needs additional changes of raiment and a change in his diet.

There are some parts of the human body that never change and cannot be altered or amputated without destroy-

ing the life in the body. But there are other parts of the body which are not so important, and they can be amputated in an emergency operation without doing serious violence to the body, and thereby save the body itself from destruction through a critical malady. Just so there are certain parts of the Constitution of the body politic which can be changed or amputated in the case of a national emergency without doing serious violence to the ideals of the Constitution and its proper functioning, and thereby avoid a national catastrophe.

But whatever changes are made have to be made in harmony with Constitutional procedure, and not contrary to its spirit and intent, just as changes in the human mechanism have to follow a prescribed course in harmony with the laws of life that control and preserve the human body. We can remove a lung, a gall bladder, an appendix, the tonsils, an arm, or a leg, and still the body will function without too much of a handicap; but no surgeon, however skillful, can remove both lungs, or the heart, or the liver, and expect the other organs to function. So in the body politic, you cannot merge the three departments of government in one without serious results to a constitutional government of the people, by the people, and for the people.

So long as the American people will not permit the three branches of government to be merged in one, and so long as the Constitution is preserved in its permanent and inflexible features, and expanded only on its flexible side to meet emergencies and changed conditions in the national life of the Republic, just so long will our heritage of liberty be secure.



WHEN one thinks of his own importance in the scheme of life, it is well to remember that the earth rolled on before he was born and will continue to do so after he is gone.

Beer Parlors Revive Old Sunday Laws

MANY of the States have winked for years at the Sunday blue laws still existent upon their statute books. There are five States, however, that have had the courage to repeal all their Sunday laws, and in lieu thereof have enacted a law specifying one day of rest out of every seven, without naming the day. But when the liquor control laws were enacted, the legislature of nearly every State forbade the sale of liquor on Sundays. Now the beer parlors and liquor places which are required to be closed on Sundays are retaliating, and are seeking the enforcement of the old Sunday laws still existent, but which have been dormant for many years. Many of the State Sunday laws forbid the opening of theaters and motion picture shows on Sunday, but the law has been enforced only spasmodically and in a few States.

The beer parlors of Seattle, Washington, recently brought mandamus proceedings in court to compel the law officers to enforce the Sunday closing law against theaters, football games, pool halls, and food stores, but Superior Judge James B. Kinne denied the writ of mandate sought in behalf of the beer dealers. The judge held the court cannot issue a writ against an officer when the officer must exercise discretion in enforcing it.

If the writ were granted, the judge said, the court would be required to hire police to see that the chief of police closed such places as he believed should be closed. The thing to do, said the judge, is for the liquor dealers to proceed in court against specific cases who in their judgment are violators of the law, and have them tried in court. The act involved is a Sunday blue law passed by the 1909 legislature and unenforced until over a year after beer was legalized, and then only against beer parlors.

The liquor dealers do not want to spend their own money in prosecuting cases, and so the Sunday law still

remains unenforced. In many other States the liquor control laws have revived the old-time Sunday blue laws with a vengeance. Liquor, politics, and religion make strange bedfellows.

C. S. L.

Ohio Pastors Oppose Parochial State Aid

(Continued from page 18)

part time, our public schools demand the fullest support. We are even now warned that the tax sources may not be adequate for the maintaining of the schools through the current year. If one group secured aid for its schools, then all should receive aid, and there is nothing to prevent the breaking up of our entire public school system.

"The committee urges the constituency of this Council to use every power available to avoid stirring up religious prejudice and hatred; to use every honest means to maintain the position that there is no attack upon the Roman Church: but that we are urging the defense of our public schools and are reaffirming our constitutional ideal of the separation of church and state. With malice toward none; with justice for all; with no hatred or bitterness; but with deep and abiding conviction, we appeal, 'stand by the public schools.'

"Be it therefore resolved:

"1. That we, the Ohio Pastors' Convention, assembled in annual session in Columbus, reassert our unqualified faith in the fundamental soundness of our public school system of free schools, which we hold to be essential to the well-being and progress of our people, a cherished possession, and one of the chief foundation stones of our democracy.

"2. That we proclaim to whomsoever may be concerned that we shall defend our public schools against the attacks, direct or indirect, of all who seek by whatsoever means and for whatever purpose to weaken or destroy them.

"3. That we are opposed to, and will employ all lawful and honorable means to prevent, the expenditure of public funds or tax money, State or Federal, for the use, support, or maintenance, directly or indirectly, of any sectarian, parochial, private, or free-tuition schools, other than our regularly established public schools.

"4. That we urge all the lovers of American freedom and ideals to rally to the defense and the support of our public schools, by electing men to public office who are loyal to the American tradition, by encouraging by letter and personal contact, the representatives in public office to stand loyal; and by expressing in certain terms the true principle of the separation

of church and state, and the importance of our public school system.

"5. That we request the Ohio Council of Churches to appoint a permanent committee of ten, whose duties will be to perfect an organization for the spreading of information and the rallying of the forces necessary for the continuance of our ideal and the protection of public money for public schools only."

That the attempt to secure State aid for religious schools is not confined to seeking pay for the teachers alone, is emphasized by an item from the *Ohio State Journal* of February 6, referring to a measure introduced by Senator Edward N. Waldvogel of Cincinnati:

"What may turn out to be another skirmish in the two-year-old fight over parochial school aid was begun in the legislature yesterday with the introduction of a bill calling on boards of education to transport parochial school pupils in public school buses."

It is an old saying, but a true one, "Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty."

H. H. V.

Shall Public Funds Be Appropriated for Sectarian Institutions?

(Continued from page 15)

Speaking to the Knights of Columbus, October 12, 1915, President Theodore Roosevelt was no less emphatic:

"I hold that in this country there must be complete severance of church and state; that public moneys shall not be used for the purpose of advancing any particular creed; and therefore that the public schools shall be nonsectarian and no public moneys appropriated for sectarian schools."—"Fear God and Take Your Own Part," p. 361.

Mr. T. J. Morgan, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, in his Annual Report, 1891, Volume I, page 68, rightly says:

"I cannot refrain from the expression of the earnest conviction that it is contrary to the letter and spirit of the Constitution of the United States, and utterly repugnant to our American institutions and our American history, to take from the public moneys funds for the support of sectarian institutions."

When debating the question of appropriating money for sectarian schools in

the Constitutional Convention of New York, in 1894, Elihu Root stated:

"It is not a question of religion, or creed, or of party; it is a question of declaring and maintaining the great American principle of eternal separation between church and state."—*"Constitutional History of New York," Vol. III, p. 578.*

These men were familiar with the oft-repeated claims of the Catholics that they want only their share of the public funds to conduct their own schools. But this question involves the great principle of separation of church and state, which is appealed to by every one of the foregoing statesmen. It can be tampered with only at great danger to the whole public polity of the American Republic.

Let every citizen hold to the true and tried principle of separation of church and state which has been endorsed by every President that ever sat in the White House and thousands of other patriotic Americans. Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and unto God the things that are God's.

Movies and Religious Liberty

BY A. S. MAXWELL

BECAUSE of its advocacy of the repeal of all religious Sunday laws the Religious Liberty Association has been accused of backing the moving picture trade to the detriment of the national welfare.

It is a sheer fabrication. The Religious Liberty Association backs nothing but *liberty*.

But while this association holds no brief for the movies, certainly it does believe that anything which is morally right on Saturday cannot be made morally wrong on Sunday by state legislation. If the movies, according to the Sunday law advocates, are a menace to the morals of the nation on Sunday night, they are six times more of a menace during the rest of the week. Consequently, if it is right to close the movies

on Sunday night for this reason, they should be closed permanently. Conversely, if people are permitted to attend such places from Monday to Saturday, there is no logical reason why they should be restrained by state legislation from doing so on Sunday.

One of the most glaring inconsistencies of the Sunday law advocates is their cry that the opening of the movies on Sunday nights will undermine the character of the people, and imperil the future of the country. If they believe this, why do they not fulminate against the demoralizing pictures shown on the screen six nights every week? Why do they think the showing of them on Sunday nights will make all the difference between national safety and disaster?

There is a way to deal with the unholy atmosphere of the movies. Let all church people stay away from them in protest! If all who have recently agitated for Sunday closing of the movies were to stay away from them on other days of the week until they had cleansed themselves of all objectionable features, there would soon be a surprising reformation. But to attend the movies on Saturday and then condemn them on Sunday is sheer blatant hypocrisy.

But suppose the movie producers were to be converted, and should prepare pictures that were elevating, instructive, educational—would these be wrong on Sunday night? How could they be? What divine command is there that would make Sunday night holy time? It is idle to quote the fourth commandment, as this refers to *Friday* night, not Sunday night—for the only Sabbath known to the Bible is the seventh-day Sabbath, which lasts from sunset on Friday until sunset on Saturday.

True, many people today choose to rest on Sunday, but obviously this choice of sacred time must rest with the individual. Each man must settle it between himself and his God. The Mohammedan chooses Friday. Those who would keep the Bible Sabbath choose Saturday. Romanists, and many pro-

fessed Protestants, choose Sunday. Each one in his own way, according to the light he has, keeps his own day "unto the Lord," while millions keep no day at all. The Lord will deal with each one with absolute, impartial justice in the day of judgment.

Sabbath observance is altogether a religious matter and should be left where it belongs, not with national governments, but with the conscience of the individual soul.

Strange Happenings

THERE is the sad case of the man who paid a psychologist \$100 to have his inferiority complex removed, and on the same day was fined \$50 for talking back to a traffic cop.—*Washington Post*.

AFTER the people of West Virginia elected their man for the Senate, they discovered that he could not qualify under the Constitution for a United States Senator, because he was not old enough.

THE Puritans of Connecticut arrested and fined Samuel Brown, of Norwich, for driving to church in his chaise because the creaking wheels "disturbed the Sabbath" (Sunday).

A MEMBER of the New York Legislature in 1817 "came to be regarded as a proper subject for the strait jacket, because he expressed his belief that steam carriages would be operated successfully on land."

IN 1825 Mr. Nicholas Wood, in his work on railways, said: "Nothing could do more harm toward the adoption of railways than the promulgation of such nonsense as that we shall see locomotives traveling at the rate of twelve, sixteen, eighteen, and twenty miles an hour."

IN 1828 a debating society made a request of the school board in Lancaster,

Ohio, for the use of the schoolhouse for the discussion of the question as to whether or not railroads were practical. The request was denied, and the following reasons were given by the school board:

"You are welcome to use the schoolhouse to debate all proper questions in, but such things as railroads and telegraphs are impossibilities and rank infidelity. There is nothing in the word of God about them. If God had designed that His intelligent creatures should travel at the frightful speed of fifteen miles an hour, by steam, He would have clearly foretold it through His holy prophets. It is a device of Satan to lead immortal souls down to hell."

AN Eastern newspaper in 1865, just seventy years ago, published the following news item:

"A man about forty-six years of age, giving the name of Joshua Coppersmith, has been arrested in New York for attempting to extort funds from ignorant and superstitious people by exhibiting a device which he says will convey the human voice any distance over metallic wires so that it will be heard by the listener at the other end.

"He calls the instrument a 'telephone,' which is obviously intended to imitate the word 'telegraph,' and win the confidence of those who know of the success of the latter instrument without understanding the principles on which it is based. Well-informed people know that it is impossible to transmit the human voice over wires as may be done with dots and dashes and signals of the Morse code, and that, were it possible to do so, the thing would be of no practical value.

"The authorities who apprehended this criminal are to be congratulated, and it is to be hoped that his punishment will be prompt and fitting, that it may serve as an example to other conscienceless schemers who enrich themselves at the expense of their fellow creatures."—*Oshawa Reformer*.

Persuasion, but Not Legislation

THE New York Times of February 14 reports in a dispatch from Richmond that the American Section of the World Alliance of Reformed and Presbyterian Churches adopted a resolution to join the Lord's Day Alliance in a "drive for strict observance of the Sabbath" (Sunday). It is planned to have all the churches of this union "combine in an effort to offset the 'present deplorable Sunday situation.'"

It is clearly within the province of the church to seek by education and persuasion to secure better observance of Sunday if it so desires. In fact, if a minister believes in Sunday sacredness, he would be untrue to his trust if he failed to exhort to faithfulness or reprove for carelessness. But a resolution which pledges cooperation with the Lord's Day Alliance is another matter. This organization is known for its activities before legislative assemblies. It seeks to accomplish by civil enactment what it fails to do by teaching and persuasion. It is entirely committed to the un-American principle of a union of church and state, and some of its most active leaders bemoan the fact that they cannot call upon the arm of the civil law whenever they feel it is necessary for the correction of heretics and the enforcement of their particular religious views.

H. H. V.

News and Comment

A CONGREGATIONAL minister, Rev. John M. Phillips, of Hartford, Connecticut, recently returned from a sojourn in Europe, and is lecturing before large gatherings. He proposes "that Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish leaders unite in requesting Pope Pius XI to lead a crusade for a five-year 'truce of God' (to prevent war) such as was inaugurated by the Catholic Church in the Middle Ages." This proposal is of special interest to the student of prophecy and history.—*New Haven Evening Register*, Nov. 13, 1934.

A Peppery Hearing on Sunday Recreation in Charlotte, North Carolina

(Continued from page 12)

personality than to laugh at me, even at my weaknesses.

"During the entire life of this nation the majority of the ministry has held tenaciously to the theory that the church and the state should be forever separate. The doctrine is sound. No legislative body can make men good, and it is not within the province of any city council to 'help us raise our children right,' as was suggested by some of the folks at the meeting yesterday. The preachers admitted that the places of business which also run here on Sundays are, in many instances, owned by prominent members of their churches, and yet they appeal to Cæsar to make them live right when these ministers are not willing to discipline them in the church.

"Let me say, at the risk of being tiresome, that it suits me for the brethren to close the town on Sunday, but let it be closed as tight as Dick's hatband. Yesterday they harped all the time on Sunday amusements. They seemed to be plumb riled because people were enjoying the day. Let them ride the filling stations, jump the newspapers, close the drugstores, walk to church, eat cold vittles, and put the lid on with a bang that will be heard from Dan to Beersheba, from the rivers unto the ends of the earth. They won't do it. They want to define sin, and then they want the city council to enforce their views with fines and penalties, with night sticks and jail sentences. Brethren, I have not so learned Christ."

The spirit of religious intolerance is far from being dead today. The only thing that holds religious persecution in check is the absence of religious legislation. The only way to prevent religious persecution in the future is for the States to repeal all religious laws still existent upon the civil statute books. The state has no more to do with religion than the church has to do with politics. Each should be independent in its own sphere and neutral in the peculiar province of the other.

C. S. L.

God never commissioned any man to experiment upon the liberties of another man for the common good of society.

Mayor of Toledo Vetoes Sunday Ordinance

ACCORDING to the Toledo *Blade* of January 14, Mayor Klotz of Toledo, Ohio, vetoed a Sunday-closing ordinance which had been passed by the city council. The mayor in his veto message declared the Sunday-closing ordinance of grocery stores and butcher shops "class legislation and unconstitutional."

The mayor further stated in his message to the council "that the history of attempts to regulate what is called Sunday observance in Toledo would fill volumes, and practically all such restrictions, whether adopted or otherwise, have failed."

The mayor contended that the N. R. A. codes regulating grocers and butchers required them to give one day of rest out of every seven to their employees, and therefore it was not necessary for the council to select the day upon which they should rest, but each employee should be left free to select his own day of rest and recreation as provided under the N. R. A. codes.

Mayor Klotz called attention to the fact that "beer, clothing, soda water, lunch places, hotels, candy stores, cigar stores, even newspapers, may be sold ad libitum. Factories may run, and yet neither the proponents nor opponents of this legislation are at all interested in the restrictions of any other line of trade on Sunday or weekdays."

It was therefore "class legislation and unconstitutional."

It is refreshing to see men in public office who have a clear vision of American jurisprudence, and who will not permit selfish interests to impose their religious views upon others under the penalties of civil codes.

No Compromise With Tyranny

To compromise with tyranny is treason to our American ideals. No man has a right to play Providence with another man's liberty, no matter how

noble or apparent the benevolence may seem under which the amiable tyrant would establish his despotism. No tyranny can be erected for the common good. For the power that comes with tyranny always breeds the arrogance of tyranny.—*Hon. William Allen White, editor of the Emporia Gazette. Printed in New York Times, July 28, 1934.*



Sparks From the Editor's Anvil

MAN is capable of being the most cruel and the most kind.

PREACHERS were intended to be saint-makers and not lawmakers.

PRAYER, and not civil power, is the preacher's mightiest weapon.

TRUTH armed with carnal weapons will work greater harm than error.

A RELIGION enforced by law is as barren of life as a field sown with pearls.

A RELIGION that is promulgated by carnal force is void of spiritual power.

PEACE and justice are promoted, not through warships, but through friendships.

THE constraining power of the gospel must be in the preacher, and not in the civil magistrate.

WHEN the church has experienced a spiritual bankruptcy, it applies to the state for civil power.

THE sweetest and most lovely graces by a misapplication and perversion will yield the most baneful fruitage.

WHEN the church persecutes in the name of Truth, it turns light into darkness and religion into an iceberg.

WHEN the church and the state are wedded in an unholy alliance, their offspring will be nothing but tyrants and bigots.

No one can preach salvation through the cross with power until he has experienced a crucifixion of self in his own life.

Religious Liberty Association

DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES

1. We believe in God, in the Bible as the word of God, and in the separation of church and state as taught by Jesus Christ.
2. We believe that the ten commandments are the law of God, and that they comprehend man's whole duty to God and man.
3. We believe that the religion of Jesus Christ is founded in the law of love of God, and needs no human power to support or enforce it. Love cannot be forced.
4. We believe in civil government as divinely ordained to protect men in the enjoyment of their natural rights and to rule in civil things, and that in this realm it is entitled to the respectful obedience of all.
5. We believe it is the right, and should be the privilege, of every individual to worship or not to worship, according to the dictates of his own conscience, provided that in the exercise of this right he respects the equal rights of others.
6. We believe that all religious legislation tends to unite church and state, is subversive of human rights, persecuting in character, and opposed to the best interests of both church and state.
7. We believe, therefore, that it is not within the province of civil government to legislate on religious questions.
8. We believe it to be our duty to use every lawful and honorable means to prevent religious legislation, and oppose all movements tending to unite church and state, that all may enjoy the inestimable blessings of civil and religious liberty.
9. We believe in the inalienable and constitutional right of free speech, free press, peaceable assembly, and petition.
10. We also believe in temperance, and regard the liquor traffic as a curse to society.

For further information regarding the principles of this association, address the Religious Liberty Association, Takoma Park, Washington, D. C. (secretary, C. S. Longacre; associates, H. H. Votaw and M. C. Taft), or any of the affiliated organizations given below:

AFFILIATED ORGANIZATIONS

Atlantic Religious Liberty Association (affiliated organizations in Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, New York, Rhode Island, and Connecticut): Office, South Lancaster, Mass.; Sec., J. K. Jones.

Central States Religious Liberty Association (affiliated organizations in Kansas, Nebraska, Missouri, Colorado, Wyoming, Iowa, Minnesota, and North and South Dakota): Office, 4547 Calvert St., College View, Lincoln, Nebr.; Sec., J. F. Piper.

Columbia Religious Liberty Association (affiliated organizations in Pennsylvania, Ohio, New Jersey, West Virginia, Virginia, Delaware, and Maryland): Office, 507 Flower Ave., Takoma Park, Washington, D. C.; Sec., F. H. Robbins.

Lake States Religious Liberty Association (affiliated organizations in Michigan, Illinois, Indiana, and Wisconsin): Office, Drawer C, Berrien Springs, Mich.; Sec., W. H. Holden.

North Pacific Religious Liberty Association (affiliated organizations in Oregon, Idaho, Montana, Washington, and Alaska): Office, Box 598, Walla Walla, Wash.; Sec., E. K. Slade.

Pacific Religious Liberty Association (affiliated organizations in California, Nevada, Utah, Arizona, and Hawaii): Office, Box 146, Glendale, Calif.; Sec., W. M. Adams.

Southern Religious Liberty Association (affiliated organizations in Alabama, Mississippi, North

and South Carolina, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, and Tennessee): Office, 4502 Brainerd Road, Chattanooga, Tenn.; Sec., S. A. Ruskjer.

Southwestern Religious Liberty Association (affiliated organizations in Arkansas, Louisiana, Oklahoma, New Mexico, and Texas): Office, 1019 North West 20th St., Oklahoma City, Okla.; Sec., R. L. Benton.

Affiliated Organizations Outside U. S. A.

Canadian Religious Liberty Association: Office, 209-212 Birks Bldg., Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada; Sec., M. N. Campbell.

Australasian Religious Liberty Association: Office, "Mizpah," Wahroonga, New South Wales, Australia; Sec., A. W. Anderson.

African Religious Liberty Association: Office, Grove Ave., Claremont, Cape Province, South Africa; Sec., J. I. Robison.

Central European Religious Liberty Association: Office, Regensburger-strasse 22, V. Berlin W. 50, Germany; Sec., H. F. Schuberth.

Northern European Religious Liberty Association: Office, 41 Hazel Gardens, Edgware, Middlesex, England; Sec., L. H. Christian.

Southern European Religious Liberty Association: Office, 49 Ave. de la Grande Armée, Paris 16, France; Sec., Dr. J. Nussbaum.

Philippine Island Religious Liberty Association: Office, Box 818, Manila, Philippine Islands; Sec., E. M. Adams.



THE EMBLEM OF LIBERTY

BY

W. S. RITCHIE

OUR fathers crossed the ocean to be free,
And chose this emblem of their liberty.
The eagle from his rock-bound eyrie's height,
His freeborn home, shrills forth his rapt delight
O'er his domain where the dark storm clouds
clash

With molten lightnings and the thunders crash;
Though his eye scans the flowered plain below,
He chooses here to dwell near realms of snow;
Here he exults, he would not wish to be
In sunnier climes, if there he were not free.

So 'tis with man, his soul will aye be chilled
In any clime if there he be not thrilled
With freedom's boon—a spirit unoppressed,
Free to worship God at his own behest.
Not always have well-favored regions been
The first in that foremost of products—men;
And men have left the sunnier lands of ease
For sterner soils to worship as they please,
When blind decree demanded them to bow
To a state creed, and would none else allow.
And so mid rocks and vales has often been
The dwelling place of those who honor Him;
And meager lands have rich in manhood grown
When men their neighbors' rights have freely
owned.

